

Message Text

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ORIGIN EA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PRS-01 USIA-15 /027 R

DRAFTED BY EA/ANP:MAGMICHAUD
APPROVED BY EA/ANP:JFKNOWLES
EA/P:WMAGRUDER

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P 141835Z MAR 75
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY CANBERRA PRIORITY

UNCLAS STATE 057659

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, AS, US

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR GREEN'S SPEECH

REF: CANBERRA 1591

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF AMBASSADOR GREEN'S SPEECH AS PREPARED
FOR DELIVERY: QUOTE:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

THANK YOU FOR INVITING ME TO BE YOUR SPEAKER TODAY. IT
IS AN UNUSUAL DISTINCTION FOR SOMEONE WHO HAS NOT BEEN
INVOLVED IN WATERGATE.

FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE WILLIAM ROGERS ONCE TOLD ME OF
AN ENCOUNTER HE HAD WITH RAY CLINE, OUR DIRECTOR OF
INTELLIGENCE, WHO BRIEFED SECRETARY ROGERS EVERY MORNING
ON LATEST WORLD DEVELOPMENTS. EVERY DAY RAY CLINE WOULD
REPORT THE USUAL DARK AND TRAGIC DEVELOPMENTS AROUND THE
WORLD. ONE MORNING THE SECRETARY PROTESTED: "RAY, ISN'T
THERE ANY GOOD NEWS IN THE WORLD TODAY?" "NO SIR", RAY
REPLIED. "NOT EVEN A TEENSY-WEENSY SMIDGEON OF GOOD
NEWS?" THE SECRETARY ASKED. "WELL SIR", SAID RAY
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BRIGHTENING, "THERE'S SOME BAD NEWS FOR WHICH THE UNITED

STATES IS NOT RESPONSIBLE." "OH", SAID THE SECRETARY,
"WHAT'S THAT?" RAY REPLIED: "THE ASWAN DAM IS LEAKING."

I MENTION THE INCIDENT BECAUSE FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENTS ARE NOT HEWSWORTHY. PERHAPS THAT IS WHY THERE IS SO LITTLE IN OUR NEWSPAPERS ABOUT AUSTRALIA AND THE AUSTRALIAN-AMERICAN CONNECTION.

FOR US, AUSTRALIA IS FIRST AND FOREMOST A LIKE-MINDED NATION PLAYING A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN REGIONAL AND GLOBAL AFFAIRS. WE TWO HAVE AN IMPORTANT SECURITY RELATIONSHIP AND WE ARE LINKED BY MANY ECONOMIC TIES OF MUTUAL BENEFIT. ABOVE ALL, AMERICANS HAVE PROFESSIONAL AND PERSONAL BONDS WITH AUSTRALIANS OF ALL WALKS OF LIFE.

AT ANY ONE TIME, THERE ARE ABOUT 60,000 AMERICANS IN AUSTRALIA -- FAR MORE AMERICAN CIVILIANS THAN IN ANY OTHER COUNTRY OF ASIA OR THE PACIFIC. AMERICAN INVESTMENT IN AUSTRALIA EXCEEDS THE COMBINED TOTAL OF AMERICAN INVESTMENT IN ALL THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF EAST ASIA. I KNOW OF NO COUNTRY IN THE WORLD TODAY WITH WHICH WE HAVE A MORE FAVORABLE BALANCE OF TRADE THAN AUSTRALIA.

WITH A POPULATION OF LESS THAN 14 MILLION, AUSTRALIA IS THE WORLD'S LARGEST EXPORTER OF MEAT AND WOOL, SECOND LARGEST OF SUGAR, THIRD OF WHEAT. ITS RESOURCES OF IRON ORE, BAUXITE, COAL, COPPER, NICKEL AND URANIUM ARE AMONG THE WORLD'S LARGEST. OBVIOUSLY, SUCH A NATION IS BOUND TO PLAY AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE WORLD OF TOMORROW.

OUR RELATIONS WITH THE LABOR GOVERNMENT OF AUSTRALIA HAVE SIGNIFICANTLY RECOVERED FROM THE LOW POINT RECORDED SHORTLY AFTER THE ALP (LABOR PARTY) CAME TO POWER IN LATE 1972.

THE ALP HAD BEEN OUT OF POWER FOR 23 YEARS, DURING WHICH TIME THE US GOVERNMENT HAD ENJOYED VERY CLOSE, AMICABLE RELATIONS WITH THE LIBERAL-COUNTRY PARTY GOVERNMENTS. THIS SITUATION TENDED TO SET THE ALP ALL THE MORE AGAINST UNCLASSIFIED

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CERTAIN US POLICIES, ESPECIALLY IN INDOCHINA.

LABOR CAME TO POWER (DEC. 1972) AT THE VERY MOMENT WHEN PRESIDENT NIXON STEPPED UP THE BOMBING OF HANOI AND HAIPHONG. THIS CAUSED THREE OF THE NEW AUSTRALIAN CABINET MINISTERS TO ISSUE SEPARATE STATEMENTS BITTERLY ATTACKING PRESIDENT NIXON AND THE US. THE SITUATION WORSENER AS SEVERAL OF THE AUSTRALIAN UNIONS BOYCOTTED HANDLING AMERICAN VESSELS IN AUSTRALIAN PORTS -- AND TEDDY GLEASON SMARTLY RETALIATED BY BOYCOTTING THE

SERVICING OF AUSTRALIAN SHIPS IN US HARBORS.

THUS WE GOT OFF TO A LESS THAN AUSPICIOUS START WITH THE NEW AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT.

PROSPECTS FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS WERE COMPLICATED BY LABOR CRITICISM OF MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS OPERATING IN AUSTRALIA AND BY DEMANDS WITHIN THE ALP FOR FREE ACCESS BY PARLIAMENTARIANS TO ALL OUR FACILITIES IN AUSTRALIA.

ARRIVING IN AUSTRALIA IN EARLY JUNE 1973, I WAS SEIZED WITH A FURTHER DISTURBING DEVELOPMENT. PRIME MINISTER WHITLAM ANNOUNCED THAT HE WAS GOING TO VISIT WASHINGTON THE FOLLOWING MONTH. HE ADMITTED THAT HE HAD RECEIVED NO INVITATION FROM PRESIDENT NIXON, BUT HE HOPED TO CALL ON HIM AT THE WHITE HOUSE DURING HIS VISIT.

THIS WAS UNPRECEDENTED.

IN MY FIRST PRESS CONFERENCE IN AUSTRALIA, WITH 200 IN ATTENDANCE, I WAS SWAMPED WITH QUESTIONS AS TO WHETHER THE PRESIDENT WOULD RECEIVE THE PRIME MINISTER. I WAS UNDER FIRM INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE WHITE HOUSE TO SAY NOTHING.

THIS WAS A STRANGE WAY TO BEGIN MY MISSION TO A COUNTRY LONG REGARDED AS OUR CLOSEST ALLY IN EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC.

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EVEN AUSTRALIAN CRITICS OF THE ALP URGED THAT PRESIDENT NIXON RECEIVE THE PRIME MINISTER LEST A US REBUFF TOUCH OFF A NATIONALISTIC REACTION THAT COULD ONLY HARM THOSE LONG REGARDED AS MOST FRIENDLY TO THE US.

TO MAKE A LONG STORY SHORT, THE PRESIDENT DID RECEIVE THE PRIME MINISTER IN LATE JULY 1973. THE TWO MEN GOT ALONG WELL ENOUGH AT THE TIME.

CONTRAST ALL THESE EVENTS WITH THE SITUATION TODAY WHEN OUR RELATIONS ARE AS HEALTHY AS THEY HAVE BEEN IN A LONG TIME. THE REASONS ARE SEVERAL.

FIRST OF ALL, THERE HAS BEEN A MATURATION PROCESS AT WORK THESE PAST TWO YEARS WHEREBY CANBERRA AND WASHINGTON HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO THINK OUT AND WORK OUT ISSUES BETWEEN US. FOR EXAMPLE, ALL OF OUR FACILITIES IN AUSTRALIA LIKE THE NORTHWEST CAPE NAVAL COMMUNICATIONS FACILITY ARE NOW JOINTLY OPERATED. PROCEDURES HAVE BEEN

WORKED OUT FOR PARLIAMENTARY AND CONGRESSIONAL VISITS TO ALL FACILITIES.

SIMILARLY, AUSTRALIAN ATTITUDES TOWARDS US AND OTHER FOREIGN COMPANIES OPERATING IN AUSTRALIA HAVE MATURED. THERE IS NO THREAT TO PRESENT INVESTMENTS, ALTHOUGH AUSTRALIAN LEADERS TALK ABOUT TAKING A MORE RESTRICTIVE VIEW TOWARD NEW INVESTMENTS.

MEANWHILE WASHINGTON VIEWS OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT HAVE MATURED. THE FIRST THING WE LEARNED, IN FACT, WAS THAT THE THREE CABINET MINISTERS WHO ATTACKED PRESIDENT NIXON AND THE US BACK IN DECEMBER 1972 WERE NOT SPEAKING FOR THEIR GOVERNMENT. WE LEARNED THAT AUSTRALIAN CABINET MINISTERS ARE ELECTED BY THE PARTY CAUCUS, NOT CHOSEN BY THE PRIME MINISTER. WE LEARNED THAT MINISTERS SOMETIMES TAKE PUBLIC ISSUE WITH GOVERNMENT POLICY WHEN TALKING ON MATTERS OUTSIDE THEIR OWN DEPARTMENTS.

WE ALSO LEARNED THE TRUTH OF WHAT ONE AUSTRALIAN DIPLOMAT ONCE TOLD ME. HE CAUTIONED ME ABOUT STATEMENTS MADE
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DURING THE SUMMER HOLIDAY PERIOD IN AUSTRALIA. THIS IS THE SILLY SEASON IN AUSTRALIA, HE SAID. I NOW UNDERSTAND WHAT HE MEANT.

I SUPPOSE ALL THIS GOES TO SHOW THAT TWO COUNTRIES AS CLOSE AS AMERICA AND AUSTRALIA TEND TO JUDGE EACH OTHER BY THEIR OWN STANDARDS. THERE WILL ALWAYS BE THIS DANGER IN OUR RELATIONS -- THAT OF TAKING EACH OTHER FOR GRANTED, OF ASSUMING AND PRESUMING TOO MUCH.

ANOTHER FACTOR IN OUR IMPROVED RELATIONSHIP MAY, IRONICALLY ENOUGH, BE THE CURRENT ECONOMIC DOWNSWING IN AUSTRALIA. RISING UNEMPLOYMENT AND OTHER ECONOMIC WOES INDUCE AN APPRECIATION OF THE NEED FOR INWARD FLOW OF INVESTMENT IN AUSTRALIA TO KEEP INDUSTRIES GOING AND TO OPEN UP NEW JOB OPPORTUNITIES. WITH LESS AND LESS OF AUSTRALIA'S GNP GOING TO DEFENSE, THERE MAY ALSO BE A GREATER APPRECIATION OF THE WORTH OF AUSTRALIA'S DEFENSE ASSOCIATION WITH THE UNITED STATES.

PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR IN OUR NEW RELATIONSHIP IS AUSTRALIA'S INSISTENCE ON DOING ITS "OWN THING" IN WORLD AFFAIRS AND OUR FULL ACCEPTANCE OF THAT FACT. THIS TREND MANIFESTED ITSELF ALREADY UNDER THE GORTON AND MCMAHON GOVERNMENTS. INDEED PRIME MINISTER HAROLD HOLT'S EARLIER CAMPAIGN SLOGAN "ALL THE WAY WITH LBJ" HAS BEEN A DOWNRIGHT EMBARRASSMENT TO SUBSEQUENT LIBERAL AND COUNTRY PARTY LEADERS.

OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS, WE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR AGAIN AND AGAIN THAT WE DO NOT LOOK FOR A LOCKED-STEP RELATIONSHIP

-- SUCH A RIGID RELATIONSHIP COULD ONLY SNAP IN THE WINDS
OF CONTROVERSY. TODAY OUR RELATIONSHIP IS FLEXIBLE,
BASED ON MUTUALITY AND TRUE EQUALITY.

OH YES, IF YOU GO BACK TO THE LBJ DAYS, YOU WILL FIND
EXPRESSIONS OF MUTUAL REGARD THAT EXCEED ANYTHING YOU
WILL FIND TODAY. LBJ DID REGARD AUSTRALIA AS THE NEXT
LARGE RECTANGULAR STATE BEYOND EL PASO. THAT ATTITUDE,
THOUGH IT BESPOKE HIS GREAT LOVE FOR AUSTRALIA, IS NOT
THE KIND OF RELATIONSHIP ONE LOOKS FOR IN THE REAL WORLD
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OVER TIME. ENDURING RELATIONS CANNOT BE BUILT ON THE
SHIFTING SANDS OF SENTIMENT.

WHAT, THEN, ARE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES?

WE HAVE CERTAIN DIFFERENCES OVER INDOCHINA, FOR EXAMPLE,
AND PERHAPS OVER CERTAIN INDIAN OCEAN ISSUES AND OTHERS.
THERE ARE ALSO THE USUAL BILATERAL PROBLEMS THAT EXIST
BETWEEN ANY TWO COUNTRIES WITH IMPORTANT TRADING AND
OTHER INTERESTS THAT DO NOT ALWAYS COINCIDE. THERE HAVE
ALSO BEEN PROBLEMS CAUSED BY INADEQUATE CONSULTATION,
AN AREA WHERE WASHINGTON HAS BEEN LARGELY AT FAULT.
PROBLEMS ARE INEVITABLE -- AND WITHOUT THEM SOME OF US
WOULD BE JOBLESS.

SO MUCH FOR OUR CURRENT RELATIONSHIP. WHAT OF THE
FUTURE?

ALREADY OUR FOCUS IS SHIFTING AWAY FROM BILATERAL ISSUES
TOWARD REGIONAL AND ESPECIALLY GLOBAL ISSUES, ISSUES
WHERE SOLUTIONS REQUIRE COLLECTIVE ACTION ON A TOTALLY
UNPRECEDENTED SCALE. I REFER TO POPULATION, FOOD,
ENERGY, ACCESS TO RESOURCES AND THEIR PRICING,
TERRORISM, NARCOTICS, NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, ARMS
CONTROL.

IT IS WITH REGARD TO THESE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES THAT I
SEE AUSTRALIA AND THE UNITED STATES HAVING SO MUCH IN
COMMON.

BOTH OF US ARE MAJOR PRODUCERS OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS,
AND ARE AMONG THE TOP EXPORTERS OF GRAINS AND OTHER
FOODSTUFFS. WE BOTH CONTAIN WITHIN OUR VAST GEOGRAPHIC
REACHES A SIZEABLE PROPORTION OF THE WORLD'S MINERAL
RESOURCES. WE WILL BOTH FACE PRESSURES FROM A RESOURCE-
SHORT WORLD, ESPECIALLY FOR OUR FOODSTUFFS. WE WILL BOTH

HAVE TO BE GUIDED BY ATTENTION TO OUR OWN NEEDS AT HOME.

THIS PAST YEAR, AUSTRALIA HAS BEEN UNDER PRESSURE AT

MEETINGS OF WORLD PRODUCERS OF BAUXITE AND IRON ORE,
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BUT IT HAS RESISTED EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH PRICE-FIXING
CARTELS WITHOUT DUE REGARD TO THE INTERESTS OF CONSUMER
NATIONS. THIS IS AUSTRALIA'S SENSIBLE ANSWER TO THOSE
WHO WOULD GO THE OPEC ROUTE.

WHILE ECONOMIC ISSUES LOOM INCREASINGLY, SECURITY
PROBLEMS REMAIN. HERE I HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE THAT
AUSTRALIA WILL INCREASINGLY VIEW ANZUS AND OUR JOINT
FACILITIES AS HELPING TO PRESERVE A WORLD EQUILIBRIUM
WHICH IS ESSENTIAL FOR AN EFFECTIVE NEGOTIATING PROCESS
ON ARMS LIMITATIONS, FORCE WITHDRAWALS AND PREVENTION
OF NUCLEAR ARMS PROLIFERATION.

AUSTRALIA HAS COME TO VIEW JAPAN AND INDONESIA AS THE
MOST IMPORTANT COUNTRIES OF ASIA AFFECTING AUSTRALIA:
JAPAN, BECAUSE IT IS AUSTRALIA'S LARGEST MARKET AND THE
MOST ECONOMICALLY DYNAMIC COUNTRY IN THE WORLD;
INDONESIA, BECAUSE IT IS AUSTRALIA'S BIGGEST AND CLOSEST
NEIGHBOR. TOWARD BOTH OF THESE COUNTRIES, AUSTRALIA IS
PURSUING POLICIES THAT ARE ENTIRELY CONSISTENT WITH OUR
OWN. THEY ARE POLICIES REFLECTING AWARENESS THAT
ADEQUATE LONG-TERM ACCESS TO OVERSEAS RAW MATERIALS AT
FAIR PRICES WILL PROBABLY HAVE MORE EFFECT ON JAPAN'S
FOREIGN POLICY IN DECADES TO COME THAN ANY OTHER
SINGLE FACTOR. THEY ARE POLICIES THAT ACKNOWLEDGE A
VIALE NON-ALIGNED INDONESIA TO BE THE PLATFORM ON WHICH

A STABLE INTERNATIONAL ORDER IN SOUTHEAST ASIA CAN BE
CONSTRUCTED.

IN OTHER WORDS, WHEN IT COMES TO THE REALLY MAJOR
ISSUES OF OUR TIMES, AUSTRALIA AND THE US HAVE CLEARLY
PARALLEL, THOUGH NOT NECESSARILY IDENTICAL INTERESTS.

WE MUST NOT LET RELATIVELY UNIMPORTANT MATTERS OBSCURE
THAT BASIC FACT. A PENNY WILL OBSCURE THE SUN IF YOU
HOLD IT CLOSE ENOUGH TO YOUR EYE.

AT LEAST LET US KEEP THINGS IN FOCUS. TO PARAPHRASE
WHAT PRIME MINISTER WHITLAM SAID DURING HIS ADDRESS TO
THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB IN WASHINGTON: IF WE HAVE
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DIFFERENCES, LET US TALK THEM OVER TOGETHER QUIETLY AND
FRANKLY LIKE THE GOOD FRIENDS WE ARE. I WOULD ALSO HOPE
THAT BOTH AUSTRALIA AND THE UNITED STATES WILL MAKE AN
EXTRA EFFORT, ON ISSUES WHEN WE DISAGREE, TO AVOID

COMPLICATING THE PROBLEMS OF ITS ALLY, ESPECIALLY ON AN
ISSUE OF PREDOMINANT CONCERN TO THAT ALLY.

THE FIRST TIME MY WIFE AND I VISITED AUSTRALIA WAS ON
HOLIDAY FROM KOREA IN 1960. OUR LAST AUSTRALIAN STOP
WAS AT HAYMAN'S ISLAND ON THE GREAT BARRIER REEF
WHERE, ONE EVENING, WE SHARED A TABLE AT THE INN WITH
TWO UNKNOWN AUSTRALIANS. MY WIFE TOLD THEM HOW SORRY
SHE WAS THAT OUR BRIEF TRIP DID NOT PERMIT US TO VISIT
THE GREAT AUSTRALIAN "OUTBACK", FOR WE WERE FOSSICKERS
WHO WOULD LIKE TO ADD SOME AUSTRALIAN ROCKS TO OUR
COLLECTION.

WE THOUGHT NOTHING FURTHER OF THAT CONVERSATION UNTIL
SEVERAL MONTHS LATER IN KOREA WHEN WE RECEIVED A LARGE
CARDBOARD BOX FROM OUR TWO UNKNOWN AUSTRALIAN FRIENDS.
THE BOX WAS FULL OF ROCKS THEY HAD COLLECTED FOR US,
TOGETHER WITH LABELS, SLIDES AND BROCHURES.

I SUSPECT THAT THERE ARE ONLY TWO PLACES IN THE WORLD
WHERE SUCH AN INCIDENT COULD OCCUR -- IN AUSTRALIA AND
IN THOSE PARTS OF AMERICA WHERE THE FOLKS ARE EQUALLY
HOSPITABLE AND OUTGIVING AND PROUD ENOUGH OF THEIR
NATIVE ROCKS OR WHATNOT TO SHARE THEM WITH THE PASSING
STRANGER.

AS AN AMERICAN PASSING THROUGH TOWN ON HIS RETURN TO
AUSTRALIA, THANK YOU, MY FRIENDS, FOR YOUR WARM
HOSPITALITY TODAY. INGERSOLL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TEXT, SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 14 MAR 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE057659
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EA/ANP:MAGMICHAUD
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D750090-0401
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750399/baaaagul.tel
Line Count: 357
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN EA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 27 MAR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <27 MAR 2003 by HageRS>; APPROVED <02 MAR 2004 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: n/a
TAGS: PFOR, AS, US, (GREEN, MARSHALL)
To: CANBERRA
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006